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WRL NEWS

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WRL NATIONAL CONFERENCE SEPT. 4-7

The first national conference of the War Resisters League was held in 1968, at Golden, Colorado. There was no national conference in 1969 because of the International Conference in Haverford, Pa. This year the second national conference in the history of the League will take place at Pleasant Hill Camp, near Greenville, Michigan. The cost of the conference is not determined as we go to press, but all WRL members are eligible to attend and we have particular hopes for a strong showing from the midwest. Please mark the date now and see if you, or someone from your area, can attend. More information will be in the mail shortly, to all on the WRL list.

23 ARRESTED AT ARSENAL

Twenty-three persons were arrested on trespassing charges July 9 and 10 as they attempted, in small groups, to enter the Edgewood Arsenal, center for research, development and distribution of chemical warfare products, and to plant a tree on the premises. Their trials are set for July 16, which is three days after this issue goes to press. During the early part of the week, others are expected to take similar action.

Previously, the group held a mass rally at Fort Detrick, center for biological warfare weapons, and planted a tree outside the gate. According to a recent government announcement, the Fort Detrick operation is to be shut down and transferred to Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah. The demonstrators, in their leaflets, urge that instead of the shutdown, which will throw a sizeable number of local people out of work, the premises be converted into a world health center. They urge that Edgewood Arsenal be converted into a world environmental center.

The civil disobedience at Edgewood Arsenal climaxed a walk by some 40 persons from Washington to Frederick, Maryland, via Baltimore where a rally of over 500 persons was held on July 5. The project, directed against chemical and biological warfare, is being coordinated by Lawrence Scott and sponsored by A Quaker Action Group, War Resisters League, Catholic Peace Fellowship and Jewish Peace Fellowship.

Instead of doing 90 days in jail for burning his draft card four years ago, Peter Kiger, WRL staff member, is in Bellevue Hospital serving as guinea pig in a medical experiment involving the treatment of acute leukemia.

LONGTIME WRLer, LOUISE HALLIBURTON...

. . . vigils in this photo illustrating a full page New York Times feature story by Charlotte Curtis headed "If Middle America Needs a Capital, There's Always Dubuque."

The article elaborates: "A pacifist since she saw the first draft numbers drawn out of a fish bowl in Washington before world war 1, Mrs. Halliburton has fasted for peace, picketed for civil rights and against the Vietnam war, leafleted at the Pentagon and consistently befriended Iowa's conscientious objectors. In recent years, she has refused to pay the federal telephone tax because it helps finance the war and urged her friends to boycott grapes on behalf of the Mexican grape pickers in California."

XUM

New Tax Action to Mark 25th Hiroshima Anniversary

by Paul Obluda

WRL-West will mount a major campaign aimed at moving War Tax Resistance in northern California into higher gear during the period around the 25th Anniversary of Hiroshima. We will try to move tax resistance through and beyond a stage of mass participation in and encouragement of refusal to pay the telephone war tax. We will circulate pledges to those willing to promise to hold back some part of their 1970 federal income tax next April, if the U.S. government has not by that time agreed to total and immediate withdrawal of our forces from Southeast Asia.

We will conduct a large scale, *silent* vigil as a rallying place for those who wish to commemorate our mass murder at Hiroshima 25 years ago. We believe that many hundreds will be willing to spend from 11:30 to 12:30 on August 6 outside the Internal Revenue Service offices at San Francisco's Federal Building and then march, again in silence, through the downtown to the telephone company office, where we will pay our bills without the war tax. During the three days that follow, leading up to the anniversary of the equally or even more repugnant mass murder at Nagasaki, WRLers will try to hold as many tax workshops and meetings as we can arrange around the Bay Area.

We have chosen to use silence to make our point this time for many reasons. We are tired of speeches and speakers. We think silence on occasion can speak more loudly than words. And we hope that through leaflets we can get across some complicated messages that might go unheard in the general hubub of another rally.

We believe that there are now many thousands of people who took the first steps of getting signatures for petitions or doing routine political organizing work on tax resistance who now must see that their efforts were well meant but aimed at an institution that cannot hear our cries. We believe many of these workers are now ready to do the same sort of work by spreading word throughout their communities of the possibility of *forcing* political change through tax refusal. Our ultimate goal is to deprive the state of the money which we all now pay it for the purpose of death.

We hope during the four days from August 6 to 9 to send small armies of people into the surrounding areas asking people to consider refusing to pay their phone war tax. And we hope that these same workers will themselves be considering taking and asking others to think of taking a further and much more vital pledge.

We know that at any time that the collection of the telephone tax becomes too burdensome for IRS, Congress will simply change the law, making the phone company collect the tax with the threat of discontinued service. Such a threat would separate the sheep from the goats in tax resistance just as the taxes now collected in the same way on booze and cigarettes do. It is this knowledge that leads us now to begin what we think must become a national goal—the encouragement of refusal of at least some portion of the federal income tax, with an immediate beginning to the collection of pledges. We hope to accompany this with a wide-scale program of education about taxation and the technicalities of tax refusal through workshops and speeches. We believe that if those millions who now share our beliefs that the war can be stopped only by some form of massive non-cooperation with the system will seriously commit themselves to getting signatures to such pledges, we can have a profound effect on this nation's course of action.

Apprised of the WRL-West Hiroshima Day plan, Bradford Lyttle, coordinator of War Tax Resistance said that the project not only would be supported by the national organization but might well be extended to other areas.

Other Hiroshima Actions

A day-long dramatic protest action at Los Alamos, New Mexico, birthplace of the A-bomb, is being planned for August 6 by Albuquerque WRL and CPF in cooperation with the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence in Denver. The action may include civil disobedience. For specifics, contact Albuquerque WRL, 116 B Hermosa SE, Albuquerque, NM. 87108.

In New York peace groups, including WRL, are planning a week-long program of activities to mark the 25th anniversary of Hiroshima. Dramatized by a candlelight walk and lantern boat floating in Central Park, the program will climax on August 8 with feeder marches converging on a mass rally in front of the main public library on 42nd Street.

NEW LITERATURE

INDOCHINA WAR PACKET, Prepared by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, this up-to-date collection of articles, fact sheets and bibliography is indispensable for knowledgability on the situation $1

ADVICE FOR COs IN THE ARMED FORCES. CCCOs new 147-page booklet on this increasingly-in-demand subject —$1

ON THE RESISTANCE, Dave Harris, former WRL-West representative now in jail and Mike Ferber deal with this urgent issue in an attractive 12-page pamphlet .... 20c, 8 for $1, 100 for $10

CLOSE-UP OF THE GRUNT. Reprint of James Sterba's graghic report in the Sunday New York Times Magazine on what it's like to be a GI in Vietnam in 1970 ..... 10c, 20 for $1

THE OBLIGATION TO DISOBEY. Mulford Sibley expands on his much-appreciated talk on civil disobedience at the 1968 conference of the Council for Philosophical Studies. A 119-page paperback $1.75

GANDHI'S CHALLENGE. The complete proceedings of last year's 13th WRI Triennial Conference at Haverford, Pa. 225-page paperback (limited supply available) $5

THE ONE-MAN REVOLUTION IN AMERICA. Ammon Hennacy's last book—about 17 individuals throughout American history who, like himself, adhered to this principle. A 338-page paperback $5

On June 11, 90th birthday of Jeannette Rankin, the only member of Congress to vote against both world wars, Jeannette Rankin Rank & File initiated two awards in her honor—one in the form of a scholarship. On her 80th birthday—10 years ago—she was honored with the 3rd annual WRL Peace Award.

ENROLLMENT BLANK

Send to War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street, N. Y., N.Y. 10012

WAR IS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY. I THEREFORE AM DETERMINED NOT TO SUPPORT ANY KIND OF WAR, INTERNATIONAL OR CIVIL, AND TO STRIVE FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL THE CAUSES OF WAR

signature _____

address _____

city _____

state _____ *zip code*

NONdiscrimination and NONviolence Feature Farm Workers' Struggle

by Nora Casillas

(Staff Member of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee)

On a recent trip to California, Texas organizer Jose Angel Gutierrez, of Crystal City, met with Cesar Chavez and a group of strikers from the California grape strike to exchange information about their programs and plans. The meeting presented a cross-section of the "Chicano Movement" that was, in some ways limited, but centered on the most real and the most promising, as well as some of the least known aspects of the work now being done by Mexican-Americans toward the liberation of their people.

Most of the meeting was spent in learning about the Texas organizer's program. The movement there, now known as La Raza Unida (The United Race), is very much a people's political party. It began with a highschool walkout, and La Raza Unida now controls the political structure of three Texas towns, centered in Crystal City. Chicanos (Mexican-Americans), who make up 85% of the population of the three west Texas counties where La Raza Unida has begun its work, now hold the majority of City Council posts in the three towns, and of school board positions in two of the towns. They control all facets of the city government.

The only major point of conflict which arose in the afternoon of discussion and exchange between the two groups was the question of discrimination within the movement, or reverse racism. The difference in attitude between the Texas organizers and the California strikers was perhaps most due to two factors: the difference in the attitude and beliefs of the respective leaders and the drastic difference between the situation in California, or almost anywhere, and the situation for the Chicano in Texas. The discrimination and bigotry against the Mexican-Americans in Texas is so strong that a deep and almost insurmountable division exists between the two groups. There is a strong identification of Chicanos on one side and the Anglos (Americans, gringos, whites) on the other. The only statement from Gutierrez which produced a strong and deeply felt reaction from the strikers was his claim that he doesn't trust any Americans until they prove themselves.

"No Discrimination"

Throughout the five years of the grape strike and boycott two events have taught the people involved that there can be no discrimination in our struggle. The first lesson came in the merger of the Agriculture Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), an almost all Filipino Union with Filipino leaders, and the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), a Mexican farm workers Union led by Cesar Chavez. It was hard for both sides to completely accept each other, and there were times when the hatred of a few members stirred up others to complain about the joining of the groups, and to demand that some farm workers *not* be part of the union. The union leaders recognized this growing problem and put such discrimination to a swift and final end. All were farm workers, in a struggle for freedom and power for all farm workers, and there could be no racial distinctions or separations.

Second important factor within the strike which has helped to eliminate discrimination, was the constant influx of volunteers from all over the country who come to help in any way they can for a struggle in which they believe. Most are Anglos, and the strikers have learned that they need the help of these "Gavachos," and that they have come to help and to give of themselves for the cause. They sacrifice, just as the strikers themselves sacrifice. They live on the same subsistence benefits, and usually under pretty rough conditions. The farm workers have come to welcome them into the struggle, and to appreciate the help which they give, regardless of their race.

Most people whose knowledge of the grape strike is limited are unaware of two very important aspects. The first is that it is not a "Chicano" movement. There are many Filipino, black and Anglo farm workers involved. Because the majority are Mexican or Mexican-American and also because Cesar Chavez is the best known leader of the union, it is usually considered a Chicano movement, by Anglos as well as Chicanos. The presence and the deep involvement of all races in the strike is vital to its existence and success.

The other generally unknown and extremely important aspect is that the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee goes so far beyond being solely a labor union concerned only with contracts and higher wages. The farm workers needed much more than that, and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has given them a community union which provides, through the National Farm Workers Service Center, a farm workers Credit Union, a Death Benefit Plan, legal services, a service center office which gives help with problems of welfare, and immigration as well as providing an interpreter when needed, a clinic which operates out of a trailer at the union headquarters, and the only medical insurance plan for farm workers in this country, the Robert F. Kennedy Farm Workers Medical Plan. The Union has concerned itself with all aspects of the farm workers life and with all his needs. Higher wages alone could not solve all his problems but a community union can help to improve all aspects of the farm workers life.

"Nonviolence . . . always"

In the farm workers' struggle begun in 1965, nonviolence has always been practiced. Cesar Chavez knew the history of the fruitless attempts at farm labor organization in this country. Through his deep belief and confidence in nonviolence, he was able to teach his people that nonviolence is the only way for their struggle to survive. It would be far more difficult for a grower, or a policeman in a grower owned and controlled system, to solve the problem of a farm labor union in the old style, by killing off the opposition, when the opposition would not shoot back. Furthermore, nonviolence proved a very effective organizing tactic.. Farm workers and others who opposed the union or thought that the union people were crazy, were won-over by the beauty of their nonviolent resistance to the violence of the growers and the police. The justice of the struggle was inarguable.

When the effectiveness of strike activity in bringing growers to accept the Union was almost totally dissipated by the tactic of bringing Mexican Nationals in to break the strike, the union put into effect its most powerful nonviolent weapon, the boycott. News of the farm workers struggle was carried all over the country and people were asked to help by boycotting table grapes. It has taken almost five years, but the long awaited victory is at last to be seen.

XUM

THE CLEVELAND AND MILWAUKEE CONFERENCES

by David McReynolds

There has been a growing four-way tension in the peace movement over the past two years. One grouping, not large in numbers but significant in their impact, has felt that peaceful opposition to the war has failed, and that various kinds of violence against the system (bombing of induction centers, police stations, etc.) was required. That group quietly separated itself out from the peace movement some time ago but its position is reflected in the "trashers"—those who, at large peace demonstrations, break windows, set fires, etc. Another group, the moderates at the other end of the spectrum and grouped around the now-dissolved Vietnam Moratorium Committee, felt that demonstrations were not as important as political action and they have, therefore, entered actively into electoral politics.

The other two groupings consisted on the one hand of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), their youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the youth group more or less dominated by them, the Student Mobilization Committee—and, on the other hand, the pacifists and those radicals who, while not pacifists, oppose the use of violence by the peace movement. The Trotskyist position has been that the peace movement must remain centered on the issue of Vietnam, that it must not be sidetracked into a "multi-issue" grouping concerned with imperialism, racism, the need to restructure American society, etc.

The Trotskyists have also been sharply opposed to civil disobedience as a tactic, feeling this is nothing more than moral protest and not an effective weapon against the government. The Trotskyist line, which happens to coincide with a number of moderates within the peace movement, has therefore centered on the one issue of Vietnam and on the one tactic of massive, legal demonstrations.

New Mobilization has moved in the last year toward a linking of racism with the war question, and starting with the anti-draft actions of March, it moved toward organizing civil disobedience against the government. As this tendency within New Mobe took over a majority on the Steering Committee—a majority that brought together pacifists and non-pacifists radicals—the Trotskyists withdrew from close cooperation with New Mobe and sought, at the Cleveland Conference of June 19-21, to establish a new peace grouping called the Peace Action Coalition. That conference was attended by nearly 1500 people. A number of independents were present, though the political positions of the conference were largely those advocated by the Trotskyists. (A full report on PAC can be had free by writing to: PAC, 2102 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115). The main proposals adopted were (1) a summer of educational work, (2) local demonstrations on August 6-9, the 25th anniversary of Hiroshima, (3) Support for the August 29 Chicano Moratorium, a project centered in the Los Angeles area, (4) a day of massive national protest on October 31.

New Mobe, partly because its leadership lacks the kind of political unity provided to the Cleveland Conference by the SWP, came forward with a more confused program at the Milwaukee Conference held June 24-26. There were some 800 persons present, in my view far too many for effective work. (And more, in fact, than New Mobe had originally planned on having—the early target for the conference was somewhere between 200-400 persons). The Milwaukee Conference was designed to bring together persons active in the black community, the welfare rights struggle, trade unions, and the peace movement. In this, it succeeded perhaps too well—the range was broad but the experience of working together or even meeting together was so limited that the first half of the conference was wasted in recriminations. But it was a good and necessary beginning, in my view, in the needed effort of creating a new coalition.

The Milwaukee Conference put forward two main proposals, as well as several lesser ones. Doug Dowd of Cornell spoke for plans for "TDA"—The Day After the next major escalation, with plans to use nonviolent action to disrupt the functioning of the war system. Art Waskow presented the other proposal, consisting of plans for marches from various parts of the nation into Washington D.C. in early fall, the purpose, once in Washington, being to paralyze the war-making machinery of the government. The "march" concept is still hazy, the question of how nonviolent it will be is unclear, but planning committees are working on it now and New Mobe is calling regional conferences this summer and early fall to build for community peace action.

The split in the movement at this time is unfortunate, but it is equally unfortunate that the Socialist Workers Party has been so hostile to the idea of massive civil disobedience, and has tended to "brake" the movement as a whole, keeping it to a single issue and a single tactic. One hopes that despite present differences a measure of unity in action can be achieved by this fall.

ORGANIZING NOTES
by Jerry Coffin

Two new pieces have been prepared for use by local WRL organizers. One is a background paper on Cambodia which will give organizers the information needed to assess the political developments in Indo China. The other piece is an Action Outline on Leaflets and Leafleting. If you are not on the WRL Organizing list and wish to receive one or both of the publications please write.

Delaware WRL recently organized a Women's Liberation action aimed at the Miss Delaware flesh market contest. They've acquired a store front office and small printing press which will be of help as they continue to reach out to the larger community.

Albany WRLers are continuing their study program and are taking an active role in the Tri City Mobe which coordinates peace activities in the Albany area.

Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence, WRL's southern group is spending the summer relating to the Atlanta street people. Steve Hipps the AWIN coordinator tells me that the hip community is suffering from increasing police activity. The AWIN folk hope to develop programs that will prevent violent clashes while preserving the integrity of the community.

Summer, is, unfortunately, a slow time for the movement. Many of us still function on a school calendar. Even this period of intense crisis isn't enough to keep most of us going. Summer is for laying dead. I think we need to try and get away from seeing summer as a time we can forget our work. The war continues. The Panthers are still being shot and prosecuted; welfare recipients are still made to suffer gross indignities. While it's true that each of us in the pacifist movement needs times of quiet and rest if we are to remain effective, we certainly don't need to view the summer as a time for a shutdown of our movement. Many of our local WRL's continue full activities during the summer and right on! Racism, imperialism, and violence take no summer vacation. Can we?

Interested in forming a local WRL in your community? Write to me for details.

THE ECLIPSE OF CONFRONTATION–TWO VIEWS

by Gary Paul Lehman
(Professor of English, Wilberforce University)

The theory of confrontation for peace, like so many other tactics, grew directly out of the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott. Martin Luther King's heroic efforts to confront the people of that city with their racial bigotry and partiality led to the wider acceptance first of the tactic of nonviolent demonstrations and thus to the tatic of direct confrontations.

Underlying both of these tactics is a general belief in a moral force. The assumption seems to have been that when people in large enough numbers demonstrate peacefully against an unjust law, they call upon some common strain of decency assumed to be housed in all men; they call upon a moral force to manifest itself when the legal force involved has failed to function properly. Originally, as Dr. King saw it, this common strain was primarily a call to basic Christian ethics.

As the 1960's wore on, both the superficial tactics and their underlying assumption wore out. The original tacticians seemed to have underestimated Americans' ability to justify or ignore injustice. Matters often became hopelessly confused when status-quo advocates justified themselves by calling upon the same basic humanity and Christian morality Dr. King seemed to assume would make moral awareness a necessity. George Wallace was unabaited by the moral force and with him went large portions of the Southern populace, either actively or tacitly. In the north, the tacticians of nonviolence seemed to underestimate the entrenchedness of institutional biases. They thought the moral force would compel citizens to call for law and justice. Instead they called for law and order, and police brutality and terrorist tactics became common methods for repressing those who called for law and justice in the name of those who called for law and order.

The old tactic of nonviolent demonstrations has been abandoned almost completely and even peaceful confrontation seems on the wane. The underlying assumption of a moral force has been thoroughly shaken and the cry has changed from law and justice to PEACE NOW! A moral demand has taken the place of a moral force—signaling a more general shift to a higher emotional plane.

In the last two or three years, confrontation, peaceful or otherwise, has seemed the only viable means of expression; but it no longer communicates. The society at large, to which the original moral-force-peaceful-demonstrations-nonviolent-protest argument was aimed, has closed its ears and grown a protective shell against any moral claim—either stated as a force or as a demand.

Thus it is time that we realize that confrontation has outlived its usefulness and *must* be exchanged for more communicatory tactics. Some efforts have been made in this direction, but they are not *nearly* well enough known or appreciated. In Houston, a solidly pacifistic group at the University of Texas has made some really fine attempts to help local construction workers and people on welfare, and in addition has made admirable strides in showing them how the injustices practiced on them are similarly manifested on draft age youth, blacks and Chicanos. This is a mammoth accomplishment—especially in Texas.

If the drive for peace and justice is to remain peaceful, we *must* discover these new avenues, for only by finding them and making them effective will we be able to keep the movement aimed at peace and justice and keep it powered by peaceful means. Only in this way, will we be able to stem the tide of that logic which seems to be irrevocably forcing violent confrontations on the movement at large.

by Jim Peck

"The Eclipse of Confrontation" is the title chosen by Gary Paul Lehman to present his viewpoint on nonviolent confrontation. It is my contention that the verbiage only—not the tactic—is in "eclipse."

In radical circles today it is considered unfashionable, passé and even downright reactionary to speak of *nonviolent* protest. Yet when faced with the crisis of the Cambodian invasion, New Mobilization—which is a coalition group—unanimously decided upon nonviolent confrontation for the mass protest in Washington on May 9. Needless to say, they avoided using the term. Likewise the Milwaukee Conference June 27-28, which included an even broader range of organizations, came up wth two long-range projects involving nonviolent confrontation. Again, this verbiage was shunned.

Now, why is it that nonpacifist groups in the movement who denounce nonviolence in theory keep resorting to it in practice? Because 1. they never have come upon a *violent* action project which is workable and 2. they realize—though they never would admit it—that nonviolent confrontation *is* an effective protest. That is why the Black Panthers agreed to nonviolence as the tactic for the massive confrontation in New Haven on May 2.

On the many occasions when I have pinned-down advocates of violence as to, specifically, what they would consider an effective violent protest action—either for peace or black freedom—they have been at a loss.

The only recent, organized, violent, leftist protests in the U.S. have been the Weathermen's action in Chicago last fall and the recent, isolated bombings of certain Establishment bastions on both the east and west coasts. Most nonpacifists in the movement agree that these actions have proved total fiascos in terms of uprooting The System. Since 1964 there have been violent protest actions in the black ghettos, but they have been spontaneous—not organized—and have brought about far less concrete social change than did the organized, nonviolent confrontations of the early 1960s.

These confrontations abolished segregation in public places and in transportation throughout the south and won enactment of the U.S. voting rights law, which subsequently resulted in election of an increasing number of blacks to public office in the south. In contrast, no such basic changes have been brought about by the post-1964 violent protests in the ghettos. They merely have scared the government into pouring in more anti-poverty funds in order to extinguish the flames of protest.

Shifting to the peace issue, there has been much discouragement and frustration over the fact that not only did the precedent-setting, massive, nonviolent confrontation in Washington last November 15 fail to end the Vietnam war but that the war has since been extended throughout Indochina.

The reality of the situation is that if there had not been a November 15 Mobilization—and the other massive nonviolent demonstrations which have taken place since 1964—the war probably would have been escalated even further, possibly to the point of resort to nuclear weapons and bombing China—both of which were under serious consideration. This would have meant world war 3 and total destruction. And who can say that the May 9 confrontation in Washington did not play some role in making Nixon adhere to his pledge to withdraw U.S. troops from Cambodia by June 30.

I agree with Gary Lehman that "we must discover new avenues," but the old avenues of nonviolent confrontation are far from obsolete. It still is the most effective tactic.

XUM

Roodenko Scores Rustin on Mideast

(EDITOR'S NOTE—This letter by WRL Chairman Igal Roodenko was addressed to signers of a full page New York Times ad June 28 sponsored by the A. Philip Randolph Institute of which Bayard Rustin is executive director and headed "An Appeal by Black Americans for U.S. Support of Israel." The ad concluded by calling for "providing Israel with the full number of jet aircraft it has requested." As one who was with Roodenko and Rustin on the very first freedom ride in 1947 and was a CORE staff member for 17 years, I want to go on record as completely supporting Roodenko's position.)

I write to you deeply grieved by your urging of American military support of the State of Israel in the June 28 *Times*. This letter is not easy to write: I was raised in a Zionist home and was so committed to personally migrating to (then) Palestine that I earned a degree in horticulture (Cornell) in order to be more useful to the Kibbutz I might settle in. It was only as we neared the second world war that I became aware of the conflict between my pacifism and my Zionism, and then ceased being a nationalist.

It is easy to choose sides in a conflict—particularly one that is far away. It is easy for those distant to make beautiful philosophical and political distinctions—and forget that while Jerusalem and Cairo struggle, the young and the innocent and the weak of both sides are maimed and killed and orphaned. Let me risk sounding like a preacher when I suggest that the American black, particularly, knows the suffering which comes to the small as the mighty square off.

What adds to the evil of the advertisement is the patronizing comparison between Israel and the Arab countries. Not that much of what is said is untrue; but it is now as obnoxious as were the white Christian American intentions in sending missionaries to darkest Africa in order to save the souls of the heathen. Further, if the oil-wealthy sheikhs are intensifying the evils of the area, why not condemn the sources of this wealth, the oil companies of the United States and Holland and England and France? And the American and Soviet leaders and arms merchants who propose slavery as the surest road to freedom, and murder as the strongest expression of life? It would be more in order to examine the evils which our own and our institutions' and our neighbors' investments are encouraging at home and throughout the world, than to condemn those who are suborned by our greed and our fears.

Perhaps better than any other segment of the human family, black America can condemn the jingoism and partisanship of both sides and can appeal to the positive and creative elements of both sides. It is the business of those engaged in statecraft to compromise. It is the business of private citizens to proclaim the good and to implore, to dare, to needle those in high places to reach for that good. To urge the American government to provide Israel with military planes is to urge the slaughter of children. What makes this even more ignominious is that the children aren't even yours.

Is there nothing else you can say about the Mideast except to urge support of one side against the other? Have you considered the Quakers' "Search for Peace in the Middle East"? Have you considered supporting Abie Nathan's *Peace Ship?* The ship (already purchased and partly outfitted) will anchor outside territorial waters in the eastern Mediterranean and broadcast antidotes to the passionate exaggerations and falsehoods of both sides. You may—or may not—have picked the better of the two worst possible programs for the Mideast. This, perhaps in the name of "practicality," is what self-styled practical men have done throughout history: go from a bad compromise to a worse one, from misery to death. And, always, the innocent suffer.

If I am grieved by the presence of such eminent black names on the full-page advertisement, I am appalled by the apparent role played in this undertaking by Bayard Rustin. Bayard and I worked together for some 25 years in this War Resisters League, together on the executive committee and, later, when he became our executive secretary. It was out of our office, and with the enthusiastic support of many of us, that he became increasingly involved in the civil rights movement of the early sixties. He and I lived for years in the same house. And he and I sat together in a bus in Chapel Hill—in what was the first CORE project in the south, in 1947—and were arrested together and sentenced together to 30-day jail terms (which we served separately) for violating jimcrow laws in those not so ancient days. I will not presume to guess my comrade's thinking or motivation today: we have not been too close these last years. But whatever his intent may be, this stoking a frightful fire is beyond my understanding except in terms of crude politics.

There are more than enough experts in this world, on all sides, who can give us the most overwhelming reasons why the death and destruction around us are really blessings in disguise. What we need is more cries of "STOP!"—deciding who has more or less right on his side is far less important than that the slaughter stop.

To the degree that public men and women leave the crying of Stop to the young, to the powerless in our societies, to that degree do they add pressure to Dr. Strangelove's idiot finger.

CO RIGHTS PETITIONS AT UN YOUTH CONFAB

Thanks to two delegates—Eileen Egan of PAX and Franco Perna of ICS—the War Resisters International's CO rights petitions were circulated among the several hundred young people at the UN-sponsored World Youth Assembly in New York.

The result was additional international signatures to the petitions which "call upon the UN Commission on Human Rights to recognize conscientious objection to military service as a human right."

PEACE CANDIDATE ARRESTED AT DRAFT BOARD

Henry Koch, longtime WRLer and congressional peace candidate in 1968, was arrested June 10 as he sat down in front of the draft board in Hackensack, New Jersey.

He was the only person arrested in the local group of about 30 demonstrators which took action on that day, designated by the Union for National Draft Opposition (UNDO) as a date for nationwide protest.

"PEACE PRESS"

The Cambodian crisis has made us once more aware of the unique value of *Peace Press*, issued every two months by Intl. Confederation for Disarmament and Peace. The March/April issue was a carefully documented 28 mimeo pages of material on Cambodia. It is not the kind of publication for the average person, but libraries, radical groups, and peace centers will find this essential. It is $5.00 a year air mail, $2.50 by sea mail—from: ICDP, 6 Endsleigh Street, London W.C. 1, England.

XUM